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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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May, 1958

COVER

Mrs. Lorenza Tucker, who graduated from the Music and Arts High School in New York City and then received her B. A. and M. A. in musicology from Hunter College, now teaches in public school No. 103 in Manhattan. Mrs. Tucker, who lives in Jamaica, is a member of the Amato Opera Company and plans to become a concert singer.—Cecil Layne Photo.

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JUDGE CARL R. JOHNSON, *president of the Kansas City, Missouri, branch, presents an NAACP life membership plaque to Dr. John W. Williams (R), pastor of St. Stephen Baptist church in Kansas City, at a morning service in the church. More than 2,000 members of Rev. William's congregation witnessed the event in what is believed to be the largest Baptist church in this area. St. Stephen has more than 4,000 members.*

■ The author exposes the inaccuracies and fallacies in Mr. Lee's article, which appeared in the April *Crisis*

Comment on Frank F. Lee's "Changing Structure of Negro Leadership"

By John A. Morsell

THE article "Changing Structure of Negro Leadership," by Frank F. Lee, which appeared in the April *Crisis*, calls for more extended comment than it could command purely on its merits. It is a curious hodgepodge of inaccuracies, omissions, and logical distortions, and ordinarily one would be content simply to say so, citing perhaps one or two of the more flagrant samples.

But the article was published in the official organ of the NAACP, and in such a way as to make it quite possible for readers to assume that it represented in some measure the views of the Association. Since the article does not, by any stretch of the imagination, reflect NAACP assessment of its leadership needs, this must be made plain, together with the reasons. To say this obviously does not mean that Negro leadership, including that portion of it furnished by the NAACP, may not be legitimate object of informed criticism.

In its essentials, Lee's thesis is that the traditional leadership elements of the Negro community (typically clergymen and teachers) are losing their predominant influence, or are at least being forced to share it with other elements. In view of the demonstrable evidence of change in related aspects of community structure, resulting in part from expanded opportunity and broader political awareness, the likelihood of change in leadership patterns can readily be conceded. The quarrel is with Lee's conclusions as to why this is so, with what he regards as supporting evidence, and with the implications he draws therefrom.

Among these implications, he bears down hardest on a re-hash of the timeworn charge that the "bourgeois" character of NAACP leadership unfits it for a role at the head of the

DR. JOHN A. MORSELL *is assistant to the executive secretary of the NAACP.*

resurgent "masses." He undertakes to prove this by a discussion of the NAACP's activity in two well-known anti-segregation efforts: Clarendon County, S. C., and Montgomery, Alabama.

The pertinence of either comparison or contrast betwen the school segregation case in Clarendon County and the bus boycott in Montgomery is not clear. Both were attempts to eliminate some aspect of racial injustice, but they otherwise had in common only the fact that each sought initially to improve on segregation and subsequently became an attack on segregation itself. Lee's analysis of the two situations does nothing to make the juxtaposition more understandable.

MONTGOMERY SITUATION

In the Montgomery situation, there is no question of the widespread and intense readiness of the Negro community for a protest against intolerable conditions on the city's buses. These conditions were notoriously distasteful and onerous, and had produced a lengthy series of unpleasant incidents over a period of years; the often-predicted reaction finally came. Whether this entitles the boycott to be termed "largely non-directed and spontaneous" would seem to stretch the meaning of those terms beyond all reason.

There seems no reason to question Mrs. Rosa Parks's own explanation of her sudden decision to ignore the bus driver's order to give up her seat: namely, that she felt suddenly "fed up" with the whole business. Even more incomprehensible is Lee's calling her arrest accidental and placing the word in quotes. Mrs. Parks is admittedly not aggressive in appearance or demeanor, but she was the secretary of the NAACP branch in Montgomery and was known as a person of independent mind and firm principles.

I do not know whether Lee made personal inquiries on the spot, but his air of intimate familiarity with the inner motivations of the leading figures in these events would be justifiable only on that basis, if at all. In any case, it is thoroughly inaccurate to allege that "in the early days of the boycott leadership arose outside the traditional power structure of the Negro community." Lee is here speaking chiefly of E. D. Nixon, to whom he insists on referring mysteriously as "the union organizer."

But Nixon, leader in Alabama of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, had also been president of the State Conference of NAACP branches. He had a lifelong record of activity within the organizational structure of the Negro community and had run for public office. By no stretch of the imagination could he then or now be regarded as "outside the traditional power structure" except in an analysis carried through in terms of textbook definitions remote from reality and substance.

(Parenthetically, the alleged "maneuvering" of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., into leadership of the boycott may be construed as highly complimentary both to the qualities of the chosen candidate and to the organizational capacities of Mr. Nixon. I do not know whether Lee intended such a construction, but it is the one I prefer.)

BOYCOTT AND COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

The fact is that the boycott fitted into and was both conditioned and abetted by the organizational structure of the Montgomery Negro community: most notably its churches, but also its social and business groupings. All these elements combined to produce what was one of the most effective aspects of the boycott: the collaborative and resilient network which operated the car-pool in so successful a fashion. Inded, it might also be stipulated that such movements are destined to fail precisely where these basic structural ingredients are lacking.

No evidence is offered for the flat assertions that (1) "there was little communication or cooperation between the NAACP and Montgomery Negroes," and that (2) "this was because of the organization's unwillingness to participate in boycott-type situations out of fear of white retaliation." But then, no evidence could be given, since neither statement is true.

The original demand of the boycotters was for modification of the excesses of the segregated seating system, including a "first-come-first-served" arrangement; but not for elimination of the jim-crow pattern itself. This obviously lent a direction to the protest which at first made enthusiastic endorsement by the NAACP difficult. Of greater importance was the strategic value of keeping the truly indigenous character of the movement well to the fore at all times. For Montgomery provided the clearest refutation yet of the myth that Southern Negroes prefer segregation and that only artificial agitation by the NAACP keeps protest alive.

Nevertheless, under direct stimulation from national headquarters, NAACP branches throughout the country, alone and in concert with others, raised thousands of dollars for the support of the protest. On June 1, 1956, halfway through the boycott, the NAACP was placed under a rigid injunction by the Alabama courts, and was forbidden to engage in any kind of activity whatsoever in that State. This order was scrupulously observed from the day it was handed down, although it has been attacked in the United States Supreme Court, which has still to rule at this writing. The order did not apply to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., through whose resources the litigation was conducted which finally resulted in the ending of bus segregation as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

CLARENDON COUNTY CASE

Lee's discussion of Clarendon County is no more satisfactory than was the case with Montgomery. Both the local and the national leadership of the NAACP regarded the existence of a firm base of local Negro support for the *Briggs* litigation as a vital element in the conduct of the case. It could hardly be otherwise on purely practical grounds, in view of the severe and continuous pressures to which litigants were subjected by their white neighbors. A number of the original plaintiffs withdrew under this pressure, and only a firm devotion by the remainder to the principle involved could have maintained a cause of action.

To interpret the leadership's careful weighing of all the factors, *including the quality of local sentiment,* as foot-dragging spurred on by the insistent clamor of the rank-and-file is the veriest distortion. Nor does it detract from the genuine interest which the case held for Negroes generally to question the evidence for Lee's statement that "the case . . . attracted strong support from the Negro masses." (How does one go about determining how "the masses" feel, anyway? And, what kind of support? In the same way, I suppose, that one "knows" that Clarendon County showed "the extent to which the rank and file could make their wishes felt and compel obedience to them.")

Nowhere in his article is Lee so ludicrously off the mark as in his oddly self-contradictory criticism of the NAACP's handling of *Briggs v. Elliott,* once the case has been shoved down its unwilling throat by the aroused Negro proletariat. In a startling echo of the current White Citizens Council line, he accuses the NAACP of recklessly disregarding the foreseeable stiffness of resistance by the heavily outnumbered, strongly rural whites of Clarendon County. His phrase, "blinded by its past successes" has become almost a stock phrase among Southern defenders of segregation when referring to the NAACP, and in the same context.

RESISTANCE WAS ANTICIPATED

On the contrary, it was assumed that there would be difficulties in securing compliance; bitter resistance was anticipated in some instances. This presentiment was shared with the Justices of the United States Supreme Court, with the U. S. Attorney General, and with counsel for the defendant Southern states. It was patently the prime consideration affecting the manner of implementation ultimately decreed by the Court. The present entrenched level of defiance was not, however, envisioned—not even by the hardest-core diehards. In the months immediately following the decision, strongly segregationist newspapers, including at least one in Mississippi, indicated that grudging acceptance would be the probable pattern, with less rather than more speed in certain areas. The solidification of the present resistance owes at least as much to the year's delay in implementation and to the governmental vacuum which has persisted since then, as it does to the intensity of pro-segregation sentiment itself.

The cream of the jest, however, is seen in Lee's contrast of the Clarendon County "mishandling" with "the current decisions made by the NAACP in selecting the other four cases (Delaware, Kansas, Virginia, and District of Columbia) that the Supreme Court considered at the same time." Aside from the fact that *Bolling v. Sharpe,* from the District of Columbia, was not an NAACP case, how can Lee reconcile his judgment with the fact that Prince Edward County, Va., with the same characteristics, is no nearer integration than is Clarendon County, S. C. —and for precisely the same reasons? That is, the District Court has not yet set a date for integration. If NAACP judgment was right in one instance, why was it not right in the other?

As a matter of fact, so far as choice of terrain is concerned, the principle could have been enunciated

had there been but a single case. The problem of extending the application of *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* throughout the South would have been with us had there never been a *Briggs v. Elliott*.

NAACP LEADERSHIP FUNCTION

I should be the last person in the world to claim perfection for NAACP leadership and planning. Under the constant pressure of events and the stringency of limited resources, far too much of the NAACP program perforce represents *ad hoc* improvisation. But it is again entirely incorrect to say that the NAACP "was not organized to prepare for the eventuality of victory," that it "neglected to plan for the post-victory period," and that "it ignored the consequences and possible results of possible victory."

A detailed blueprint for action by local Negro communities desiring to be rid of segregated education was almost immediately forthcoming, representing much careful thought and discussion in the months preceding the decision. Southwide conferences on implementation yielded decisions on strategy and tactics to deal with a variety of situations. Negotiation, cooperation, compromise, were the approaches of choice, with the lawsuit only a final resort. There was no naive assumption of an easy road; the leaders, if closely polled, would have ben inclined to agree with Justice Jackson's prophetic estimate of "a generation of litigation."

The misconceptions primarily responsible for Lee's extravagantly erroneous conclusions are perhaps most pointedly revealed in his observation that "structural flaws" (and Heaven knows we do have some!) in the NAACP are manifested by its lack of "alternate methods of protest" once the legal victories were won. Protest is a continuing imperative for the NAACP, but it has been a long time since the needs of the fight for full citizenship could be adequately, or even partially, served by a concentration on "protest." Even the legal actions themselves were not planned as protest, but as a means of bringing about those social *changes* which could appropriately and feasibly be attained via the legal route.

Similarly, the legislative approach has been assiduously pursued for those objectives best sought via legislation. And there has never been a slackening in the effort—slowest and hardest and costliest of all—to bring about modifications in attitudes and opinions, to desegregate men's hearts and minds. In short, the NAACP has been, and must increasingly be, an instrument for social change as well as a vehicle for protest.

The confused preoccupation with failures of "communication" between leaders and followers or with misdirections of communication "up-down" and "down-up" which runs through so much of Lee's comment eventually comes up short against what we are reluctantly forced to assume is his basic position in this matter. The exposure comes when he expresses regret that "the NAACP has not been able to orient and organize the Negro masses into a coherent framework *which it can control*." (Italics ours.) It is to be hoped that Lee will choose to disavow so essentially totalitarian a goal. It is certainly the last thing in the world to which the NAACP would aspire.

Crawford

ATTORNEY EARL B. DICKERSON (*L*) *of Chicago, Illinois, a member of the NAACP national board, was one of the planners of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch membership campaign. Pictured with Attorney Dickerson are Dr. James E. Levy, elected branch president for the fifth consecutive time, and Dr. N. K. Christopher (R), also an NAACP national board member.*

■ This piece tells of the ordeal faced by the nine Negro students at the Central High School, Little Rock

Nine Courageous Students*

By Clarence A. Laws

I INVITE you to consider the Little Rock school crisis and what you can do about it. It is your problem, too, you know. I should like also to touch upon the fight against the NAACP in the South and to indicate our responsibility here, likewise.

During the month of September 1957, you, like law abiding citizens everywhere, must have been shocked by the naked defiance of law and the total disregard of human rights by Arkansas' Governor Orval E. Faubus and the unrestrained mobs at Little Rock.

With the advent of federal troops and almost total blackout of news from Little Rock on the Central High School situation you no doubt felt that all was going well with the nine courageous students who are enrolled at the school. Of course the incidents involving one of the students, Minnijean Brown, must have quickly dispelled any such idea.

I could tell you what has happened to Minnijean Brown and the other eight students since September. However, I think you might find it more interesting to pretend for a few minutes that you yourselves are Negro students at Central High at Little Rock, Arkansas.

As a Negro student you have a right to attend Central High by virtue of (1) the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in public education, (2) the implementing decision of May 31, 1955, (3) an anemic integration plan of the Little Rock school district — a plan opposed by the NAACP but sustained by the courts, and (4) you are one of some 200 Negro high school students who live in the attendance area served by Central High School. You represent less than one half of one percent of the school enrollment, or 9 to 1900 plus.

* Originally an address delivered by Mr. Laws, NAACP field secretary, at Colorado Springs, Colorado, State Conference public meeting on March 9, 1958.

SCHOOL DAY BEGINS

Today as every school day you arrive at school between the hour of eight and eight-thirty. You arrive by private vehicle, along with two or more other students like yourself. You do this for security reasons, even though it might be more convenient to go by public conveyance or even to walk.

As you leave your automobile to walk toward the school, you are again struck by its stately beauty and its well-kept grounds. What impresses you most, however, is the fact that this school is rated as one of the "top" 33 public high schools in the entire nation. This enviable rating is based upon the continuing high achievement by Central students in national tests. That alone is enough to make the school a most desirable objective, you think.

The members of the federalized National Guard who patrolled the school grounds and halls a few weeks ago have been removed, you recall. As you approach the entrance you look deep into the halls to ascertain if a gang of students is lurking there. You also survey the windows just above the entrance to see if there are students bent upon showering you with water or hand lotion.

You turn and smile as you wave to the driver of your car—he still waits . . . just in case. Then entering the building you make straight for your homeroom. You consider it unusual if there is not a "welcoming party" to revile you with names. Maybe the name callers have moved into your homeroom, you think.

You walk some 350 odd yards toward your homeroom through the seemingly endless halls of this 3,000-student capacity school. As you do so, the impressionable events at Central High kaleidoscope before you like some breath-taking Cinerama. You see in fleeting moments: Negro students being blocked by the National Guard and jeered at by a howling mob as they attempt, without success, to enter school September 4 . . . students being escorted into school through mob blockades, but later being forced to withdraw to safety, September 23 . . . the President of the United States acting to restore law and order at Central High School, September 24 . . . the 101st Airborne Division taking over and your going to school under military escort, September 25 . . . segregationists staging an unsuccessful walkout . . . segregationists intensifying harassment against Negro students and whites who are friendly to them . . . the Governor and other politicians keeping the school situation in a state of confusion and ferment . . . school officials refusing to take stern action against those harrassing Negro students . . . Minnijean Brown being expelled and departing for school in New York . . . the Little Rock school district officials asking the United States District Court for a stay of integration order . . . encouragement, letters, cards, gifts, honors and awards coming to students, their parents and Mrs. Daisy Bates, their leader, from people the world over. . . .

All of these school-related events flash through your mind before you turn into your homeroom. Briskly you step to your desk, but you do

not sit down before scanning it to see if you have had a visitor who placed a tack on your desk seat or smeared it with almost invisible glue. It has happened before, you know. As you begin to review the lesson for a subseqeunt class, some boy or girl begins calling you names —unprintable names—and threatening you. But you pretend not to hear. Apparently the teacher does not.

ALERT FOR TROUBLE

As you leave for class, someone informs you, casual like: "There is ink on your clothes." You know that someone has done it again—deliberately spilled ink on you. But while you may be a seething caldron within, outwardly you are a picture of calm. You say to yourself. "They'll not have the pleasure of knowing they have angered me."

As you walk through the halls with your head high, you are alert to anyone who might try to push, crowd, elbow, kick, or trip you. It happens almost daily; some days many times. When you enter your classroom, you take the same precautions which were taken when you went to your seat in your homeroom. The precautions, which are repeated throughout the day, do not annoy you very much now. You take them subconsciously.

Now it's time to go to "gym" class, which always presents its peculiar hazards. You leave your clothes and books in your locker. You wonder if you will return to find your locker smashed and your things stolen, or merely scattered over the floor. Maybe they will be soaking wet as a result of water having been squirted through the locker vents. Or maybe everything will be left intack, who knows?

On the "gym" floor there could be intentional bumping, pushing, or tripping. Or maybe a half dozen fellow classmates will decide that it's your turn to catch the ball. They all throw at you simultaneously. Of course, to some instructors and students this is a mere coincidence. You know otherwise, for it has happened before. Yet you try to forget it.

The "gym" class is over. You rush to the shower room. This could be an uneventful day here. Then again someone might decide to turn on the hot water in your shower stall, or to steam up the place and pelt you with wet towels. Who knows what thoughts lurk in the minds of those who have been told to torment you until you withdraw from school?

Refreshed, you go to the cafeteria for lunch. You remember the good days there, as well as the bad days. It is quiet today. If you were Minnijean, before February 20, you remembered that you dropped a tray of food on two students when a chair was pushed against your body making it impossible for you to move. As Minnijean you would also have remembered how two bowls of soup, subsequently, were dumped upon you without provocation.

But I should hope you were not Minnijean on that day, for if you were, you would have had many more unpleasant memories to reflect upon. You might remember among other things, how you were hit in the face with a rock, how you were kicked by boys on several occasions. How you were verbally

harassed, in the vilest manner, countless times. You would remember how, after rehearsing daily for more than a month, you were told that you could not sing Christmas carols with the Glee Club. This occurred just one week before the scheduled event. You are a Negro and the school officials had feared the reaction of the segregationists. But what had hurt you most was not what the segregationist thought, but what the principal said when you asked for an explanation as to why you were dropped from the Glee Club. Like the playback of a recording, you hear, as clearly as when you were standing before the principal, and again the words are equally unbelievable: "Minnijean, there is still some differences of opinion between the federal government and the state of Arkansas as to your right to be here. Until this matter is settled, you Negro students may come to class, but you will not be allowed to participate in extra-curricular activities."

DAILY ORDEAL

That was it. The principal charged that he was misunderstood, but the fact remains that you and other Negro students are still excluded from all non-class activities. This even includes organizations where membership is determined solely on the basis of scholastic excellence.

It should be made crystal clear that it would be a great error to conclude that only Minnijean was subjected to harassments. If you were Ernest Green, you were struck in the face on January 20; hit with wet towels in the shower room on January 30. This had happened before. If you were Melba Pattillo, you were roughed up and reviled on October 2, and on January 9 you were pushed down. If you were Gloria Ray, a boy was pushed painfully against you by another on January 21; on February 28 your book and pencil were stolen and you were spat upon; a small nail was driven through a block and placed on your seat, point up, on March 4. Were you Terrance Roberts, you were kicked on October 2; roughed up on December 12; and you were hit while in "gym" class on January 10. Were you Jefferson Thomas, you were kicked on October 2; knocked down from behind on November 12; and on February 12 you were seized around the neck. If you were Carlotta Walls, you were kicked by a boy on February 6; likewise you would have been tripped and spat upon. Were you Thelma Mothershed, you would have had a serious cardiac condition. Nevertheless, you would have been bumped into and struck too; ink would have been spilled on your dress and you would have been verbally abused countless times, as has every other Negro student at Central High. If you were Elizabeth Eckford, a boy would have hit you with his fist on December 18, and you would have been pushed downstairs on January 10. Two days later the incident would have been repeated; you would have been roughed up in the "gym" countless times. If you were Elizabeth, you would have been the brave girl who walked with regal calm before a phalanx of armed and unfriendly National Guardsmen on the memorable morning of September 4. That walk would have made you the symbol in this fight for equal educational

opportunity. That walk would have destined you for history.

To the segregationists, you see, you are no better or no worse than Minnijean. If you are a Negro student at Central High School, you are automatically marked for mischief.

You go through afternoon classes in the same manner as you did the morning ones. At about 3:45 P.M. you depart school as you came—in your private vehicle — along with other students. You know that your parents, Mrs. Bates, and NAACP officials will be anxious to learn what manner of day you had. You tell them.

After a few minutes of relaxation, you begin preparing your homework for the following school day. You hope there will be no telephone threats from segregationists to disturb you this evening. They have, you know, somehow obtained your unlisted number.

Today was a tough, tough one, but it's history now. You hope for a better tomorrow, yet your faith, your determination, and your proud and unflinching courage will sustain you against the worst. That makes you know, without being boastful, that you will be equal to any challenge in this incredible school situation.

In light of the excellent progress being made in a number of formerly segregated schools in the South, the continuing crisis at Little Rock must be puzzling.

NATURE OF PROBLEM

In my opinion, which is shared by many others close to the situation, the problem can be attribued largely to the following:

The failure of the justice department to take action against those involved in mob violence at the school in September;

dismissal of charges or suspension of sentences against mob leaders by the municipal judge;

failure of the school officials to enunciate a firm policy regarding the behavior pattern of white students toward Negroes at Central High;

the false and inflammatory utterances made by Governor Faubus and other segregationists;

the silence of the so-called responsibile citizens of the community on the legal and moral aspects of school segregation; and

the apparent feeling on the part of segregationsists that the students will withdraw voluntarily if enough pressure is exerted upon them.

In a petition to the United States District Court on February 20, the Litle Rock School Board listed some of these same reasons in asking that the court delay its integration order. However, there are many who suspect that time will prove that responsible school officials were the greatest impediment to the success of their own anemic integration plan.

I would not be fair to Little Rock if I did not point out that there are some cases of kindness in the deserts of strife and hate in that city. It is true that the so-called responsible citizens are for the most part silent and inactive. However, there are some who meet to discuss the school problem. There are a few who actually speak out.

Among those who meet to discuss the problem, in an informal way, are ministers and laymen. The group is interracial.

When Minnijean Brown was expelled from Central on February 17, a white women offered to pay for the cost of her education. When advised that Minnijean had been granted a full scholarship by the New Lincoln High School in New York City, this kind person offered to buy some clothing for the girl. Included were a coat, a half dozen dresses, with accessories, luggage, etc. Scores of telegrams and letters were sent the members of the Little Rock School Board requesting that Minnijean not be expelled.

Following is a letter dealing with the Minnijean incident which appeared in the *Arkansas Gazette* of March 3. It reflects, I believe, the thinking of a large number of fair-minded but silent persons at Little Rock:

The offspring of Mother's Leaguers and the like at Central High must feel that the expulsion of Minnijean Brown is an important victory in their war against integration. One can't help feeling a sneaking sympathy for Minnie, who had the wild idea that it was permissible for her to call someone 'white trash' (and with considerable provocation, I might add) as it was for someone to call her 'nigger,' which we all know needs no provocation.

Miss Brown apparently has a low boiling point. This won't do! We're accustomed to patient Negroes here in the South. No allowances are to be made for individual differences in temperament.

'White trash' is, of course, an unattractive figure of speech, but so is 'nigger.' Both terms are contemptuous and insulting in their intent.

Perhaps the remaining eight Negro students can continue to rise above the level of their tormentors and stay at Central High. The dignity, poise, and self-control of such Negro children as these are almost superhuman. What sort of adults do you suppose they will be? Can anyone of us imagine himself behaving as they have behaved in like circumstances?

I can't. It's much easier to imagine reacting like Minnijean Brown. Minnie isn't the stuff of which pioneers are made, but she's quite human.

Little Rock is now the capital of Southern resistance to equal educational opportunities for Negroes. Almost every professional political race hater of note has visited the city during the past eight months.

Having failed in its bold bid to defy the federal government by the force of arms, the South could still claim some measure of victory if even the presence of federal troops cannot secure for Negro children their legal and moral right to the best education in their community or state.

There are those who complain about the three and a half million dollars which the federal government has spent in the Little Rock Central High School crisis since September. This is a paltry sum when one considers the purpose. This purpose goes far beyond school integration. It goes to the heart of the authority and power of the federal judiciary. If this is not worth defending, then our country is not worth defending, because the foundation of this government is based upon unqualified respect for the inalienable rights of all men and duly constituted law.

The South itself is spending mil-

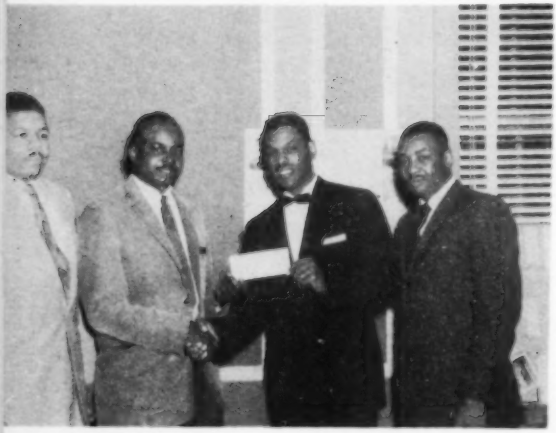
(*Continued on page* 318)

Central Long Island, N. Y., branch launched a USA flag drive on May 17, and for Memorial Day, to encourage display of Old Glory in every home in Babylon. Town supervisor Arthur Cromarty (center) wishes the branch well.

NAACP youth council members of the Central Long Island branch, Babylon, N. Y., participate in the launching of flag day.

Arthur Cromarty, (L), town supervisor of Babylon, N. Y., explains purpose of Central Long Island branch flag drive to Major Braxton, branch program chairman, and Louis Leftenant, commander American Legion Post 1218.

Mrs. Hildegarde Stellmacher (L), Connecticut Valley branch program chairman, who won first prize of a Roto-Broiler in a cooking contest conducted by the Central Connecticut Food Exposition.



Vice-president Woodrow Rainey (2nd from L) of Socialites Social Club presents Club's $50 initial NAACP life membership check to president Edward Jackson of Middletown - Portland, Conn., branch. At L is club treasurer John Freeland; at R, Rev. Lorenzo Woods, co-chairman of branch life membership committee.

Junior warden Detroit Hunter (L) of Kind David Lodge No. 54, AF & AM, presents his Lodge's initial $50 NAACP life payment to Middletown - Portland, Conn., branch president Edward Jackson.

■ This article covers, comprehensively, the problems which arise when Negro and Jew meet in urban areas

Urban Negro and Urban Jew

By Dennis Clark

SOME months ago in my city three youths shot a completely innocent and undefended elderly Jewish druggist to death in the corner store where he had worked most of his life. This act represented the culmination of a long series of robberies and shootings in which Negroes were the aggressors. In the weeks that followed there was a great public outcry of anger, distress and fear about this tragic murder and robbery. As a person involved in race relations work I was exposed to the heated rage and tempests of indignation that were lashed about in several community meetings that I attended. In this atmosphere it became evident that the resources of good will and sympathy of many people in my city were strained.

It seemed that many Jewish people were particularly stricken by this incident. Because the victim was a Jew, there was a particularly poignant aggravation and irresolution in the face of the whole situation on the part of Jews. The ready understanding that I had come to expect among my Jewish friends was replaced by a grudging reserve. Exasperation replaced the usual tolerance. It was plain that what has become traditional Jewish sympathy with Negro aspirations toward full citizenship and social opportunity was shocked into suspension by this brutal crime. The murder seemed to focus all of the misgivings and frustrations surrounding the difficult problem of racial change on the urban scene.

This incident and the reaction of many Jews of my acquaintance to it served to highlight some very funda-

DENNIS CLARK *is a staff member of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Commission on Human Relations. He is a frequent contributor to America, Community, and The Interracial Review.*

mental factors in the relationships between the Jewish and Negro groups in city life. An open and thoughtful examination of the factors can throw a good bit of light upon both race relations and religious orientation. It is in this interest that I, a white Christian, venture to comment upon what is essentially a question of Negro-Jewish relations.

Jewish people are wise in the ways of cities. They have for centuries been an urban people. They have seen racial antagonism grow in city streets time after time. It is improbable, however, that Jews have ever encountered on such a large scale the type of problem presented to them by the urbanization of the American Negro. The entire social life of the modern city is momentously different from that of the past. In the past various ethnic groups lived in enclaves in cities, and population movement was slow. Today there is a swift movement of population and an almost random mixture of people from various backgrounds in metropolitan centers. In this setting the large Jewish populations of the major northern cities are involved in a very distinctive way in the struggle of the nation to solve the "American Dilemma" of race relations.

REGIONAL FETISHES

The scéne of decision in race relations has shifted dramatically from the rural South to the urban North. The regional fetishes are being stripped from racial problems and these problems are becoming more and more a part of the urban patterns that constitute the dominant form of American life in this second half of the twentieth century. The issues are decreasingly set against a background of legal segregation, disenfranchisement, and social ossification, and are increasingly involved in a panorama of stalled liberalism, bloc-vote politics, and social disorganization. In this context Jews confront Negroes in three ways, two of which are related to physical proximity and one of which is in the sphere of social psychology.

One of the places in which Negroes confront Jews is in the corner store. In many of the great segregated districts the last outposts of white residents are in the corner grocery stores, small dry good stores and pharmacies that are owned and operated in many cases as family businesses by modest Jewish people. Because of the economic stake that these small businesses represent, their owners have frequently been reluctant to leave areas that have changed racially. In segregated neighborhoods where the earning power and standard of living are often depressed, these little stores fit intimately into neighborhood life. They are flexible enough to meet the irregular needs of informal local and family living. In overcroweded Negro districts the "street corner society" that affords an outlet to the young centers around such small businesses.

In these circumstances the Jewish storekeeper is often the only white man that many Negroes see on any regular basis. He is a person who extends service, but he is also many times a family creditor to whom the grocery bill is owed. The amount of anti-Semitism that grows out of this latter relationship is surprising.

As the last white resident on the block in sections where existence is less than genteel, due to the legacy of prejudice, it is understandable that small shopkeepers should at times feel the pressure of minority-group frustration and counter-prejudice.

CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS

A second "sphere of influence" in which Negroes and Jews interact is in those heavily Jewish neighborhoods that have begun to change racially. The sequence of migrations of minority groups through our cities has often placed Negroes next in line behind Jews in the scale of social status and home buying progress. Neighborhoods that were once forbidden to Jews have received substantial influxes of Jewish homeowners. Because of geographical convenience or economic accessibility, these same neighborhoods are now attractive to non-white homebuyers. The aspiring Negro sees in these areas the same virtues of middle class respectability that Jewish families, fresh from the quasi-ghetto immigrant "Jewtowns" saw in them a generation ago. Perhaps there is some basis for supposing that the "liberal" opinion prominent in big city Jewish circles and the traditionally non-violent disposition of Jews, exerts an attraction upon Negroes seeking a way out of segregated neighborhoods. These factors may be present, but the succession of Jew and Negro in residential migration appears to be much more a question of ecology and circumstance.

In neighborhoods where Jews form a very substantial quotient of the population, there has been no marked deviation from the general pattern of response to Negro newcomers. Essentially, the white reaction remains the same. The likelihood of violence is at a minimum, but the development of panic and gradual white withdrawal is the usual course. Community leadership sympathetic toward racial integration does seem to be more readily available in such areas, but this does not change the eventual outcome. The promotion of interracial understanding still comes "too little and too late" to be of any practical significance.

The third area in which Negroes and Jews are particularly linked is not so much a physical one as it is one of social psychology. The Negro and Jew are both members of minority groups that have experienced actual ill-treatment or a sour tolerance on the American scene. This fact has brought forth a sort of kinship or practical affinity between Jew and Negro.

BONDS OF SYMPATHY

There is a bond of sympathy and a mutual understanding between the two groups that is constituted of their common concern for fair treatment and democratic rights. Hence, Jewish and Negro organizations can usually be found working together, sometimes even working alone, for civil rights, fair employment, intergroup understanding and racial integration. Many Jewish groups devote more effort to bettering race relations than to any other subject.

Against this background of contact between Negroes and Jews must be ranged certain social characteris-

tics of both groups that serve to set up a distressing web of tension between them. Despite the strong affinity that we have noted above, there is a great cultural difference between Jew and Negro. This is not just a difference between a group long urbanized and a group of very recent agrarian background. It is a difference of cultural heritage and experience. Although the Negro folk culture had as a cardinal element a familiarity and reverence for the Bible, and notably for the prophets and Kings of Israel, there is a vast difference between the Jewish view of these riches and the Negro folk view of them. The complexity and uniqueness of the Jewish tradition, heavy with history, stands in strong contrast to the youth and directness of the American Negro orientation. This contrast is made most vivid when we compare the educational status of the two groups. American Jews have from the time of their immigration achieved an extraordinary educational eminence. In terms of formal schooling, they enjoy a top position among American ethnic groups. Negroes, on the other hand, still struggle under the educational disabilities inflicted upon them by segregation and exploitation. In education Negroes and Jews are further apart than any of the other groups in the mainstream of American life.

INCIDENCES OF CRIME

In family life and in the incidence of crime Jew and Negro are also vividly contrasted. The ceremonial of Jewish home life has no parallel in highly variable Negro domestic life. The wildly publicized crimes of some Negroes that glare from the pages of metropolitan newspapers have a bewildering effect upon many Jewish citizens. The latter seem unable to comprehend that such things can exist. The American Jew, largely middle class in thought and demeanor, is out of touch with the world of harsh rejection, privation, and violence to which the Negro has been assigned by current social forces.

The American Jew shares actively in the economic abundance that has been the nation's harvest for the last fifteen years. He walks with non-Jews as leader, laborer, and organization man in the economic activities of the day. He inhabits suburbia and plays a vigorous role as producer and consumer. The Negro, however, is just emerging from an economic limbo. Non-whites are singularly retarded economically. Their family income, job status, savings and property ownership are all below the national average for whites, and nobody really knows how much of the recent progress of Negroes in these areas has been achieved at the expense of such sacrifices as the employment of mothers and the postponement of medical and educational needs.

In social organization we perceive once again a great disparity between Jew and Negro. Jews have an enviable apparatus of fraternal, charitable, and civic organizations manned by articulate and effective leaders. Negroes are still suffering from the paucity of leadership that has been a traditional characteristic of depressed ethnic groups arriving on the urban scene. Men like Martin

Luther King are exceptional in any group. The ability of a group to train and consistently present in the forefront of their interests skilled leadership is a faculty that must be slowly wrought. Leadership in effective force does not arise out of a vacuum; it must arise out of preconditions of education, organized tradition, a degree of leisure and concourse with the elites of power and learning.

DIFFERENT COMMITMENTS

In addition to these social contrasts between Jew and Negro there is the different commitment that each group bears to ideals of community life. Whatever our predictions about the future, we must recognize that Negroes do most emphatically exist as a social group at present. As such, Negroes seem to have largely renounced the ideal of racial solidarity in favor of a rather loosely construed racial affiliation permitting full integration, when possible, into the general community. In this respect non-whites seem to have a somewhat unreserved commitment to the undifferentiated "liberal," egalitarian community. Jews, however, have a distinctive ideal of community life with deep religious implications. This historic ideal antedates by ages the "open community" concept. It is operative today in the voluntary residential clustering around synagogues that produces heavily Jewish neighborhoods in our big cities. These two community ideals, that of the religiously based community and that of the open community based upon secular citizenship, are not mutually exclusive, but they are far from identical and can lead to divergent views on questions of intermarriage, community life and education which are of mutual concern to both Jews and Negroes.

CONSIDERABLE SOCIAL GAP

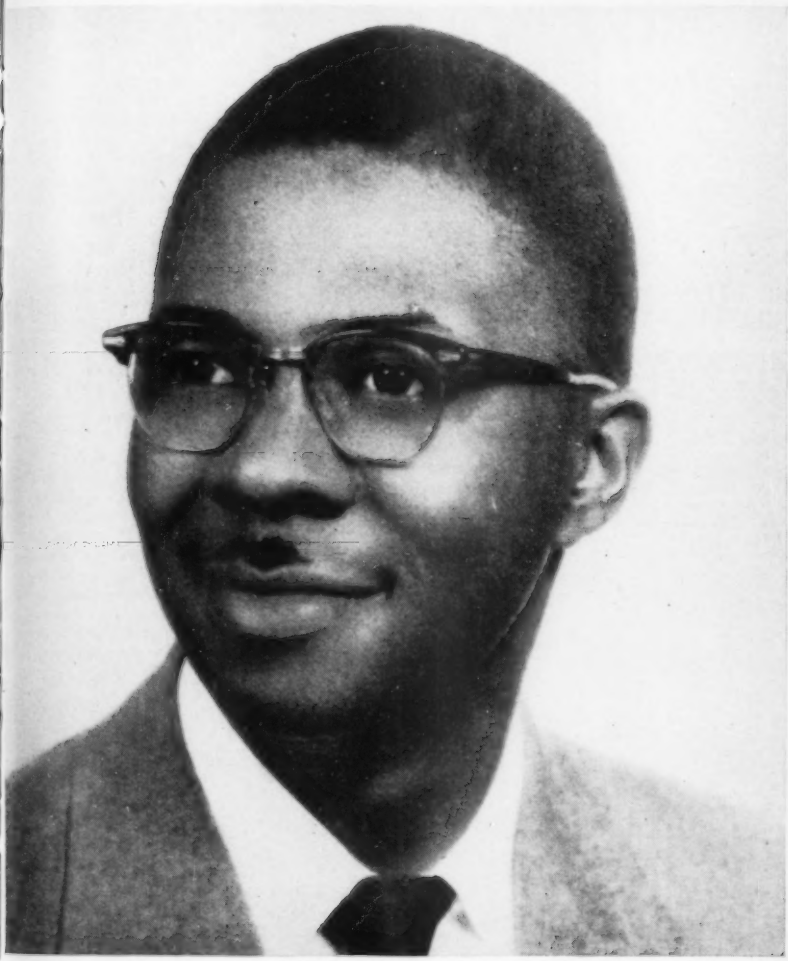
An examination of the relationship between the Negro and the Jew in the light of the social factors mentioned above indicates that there is a considerable social gap that prevails between the two groups in spite of the bond of sympathy that they share. One of the practical effects of this situation is that Jews are often placed under extreme pressures when they face up to racial issues. Jewish people are frequently solidly behind liberal race relations practices and programs, but they feel genuinely repelled by the social differences persisting in the Negro population. When racial integration confronts them, they appear to feel very keenly the contrasts between the great bulk of the newly urbanized Negro population and established middle-class Jewry. Thus, Jews do seem to have a special problem with respect to racial change.

Recently when a Jewish family in Levittown, Pennsylvania, sold their house to the first Negro to purchase in the city of 60,000 white people, there was a spate of anti-Semitic letter writing and grumbling that showed local community relations workers how exposed Jews are to the vicissitudes of community change. This is simply another difficulty for the man of good will. The pitfalls are many. It is only proper, I believe, to point out that when Jews deal with racial change, they must

do so according to their best resources—those of their religion. Recourse to specious and fashionable panaceas will not prove adequate. The problems of race relations are not primarily those of mental hygiene or civic harmony. The problems are primarily moral and spiritual and to these problems Jews can bring the ancient truths and wisdom conferred upon them by the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Only a spiritual philosophy can comprehend and cope with the complexity, intimacy, and historic significance of racial reconcilation in American life.

Elmo McDonald

MRS. EVELYN B. HUNT *(2nd from L), basileus, Gamma Xi Zeta chapter of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, and George Richardson, treasurer New Rochelle, N. Y., branch accept NAACP life membership plaques on behalf of their respective organizations from Mildred Bond, NAACP national office life membership campaign representative. Looking on are Mrs. Frederick Pierce and John W. Tate, past presidents of the New Rochelle branch.*



HOWARD M. WILKINSON *of Richmond, Virginia, assumed full-time duties on April 1 as assistant executive secretary of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches. Mr. Wilkinson succeeds John M. Brooks as director of the state conference's political action program.*

Dr. John Morsell, assistant to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, examines a report on NAACP activities in the Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, area. From L, Dr. Morsell, Leonard Carter, Donald Lewis, Atty. Douglas Hall, and Sandy Perry.

Membership drive of the Atlanta, Georgia, branch was sharply stepped up under the direction of campaign director Daisy Dunn (center). Office secretary Harolyn Miller and executive committee chairman V. W. Hodges are shown confering with Miss Dunn.

Hartford, Connecticut, branch merit awards are studied by the recipients (from L), Mrs. Antoinette O. Washington, Judge Boce W. Barlow, and Mrs. Minnie Jackson.

CECILIA TANG *is crowned "Miss NAACP of 1958" by Theodore A. Jones, president of the Chicago, Illinois, branch at the branch's annual NAACP benefit tea held in the Parkway Ballroom on March 16. Miss Tang holds the $100 check awarded the winner in the popularity contest.*

Cabell Photo

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S *19th Street Baptist Helping Hand Club presents a $500 life membership check to Theodore E. Taylor, life membership chairman of the District of Columbia NAACP branch. Pictured (from L) are Rev. Jerry A. Moore, pastor; Mr. Taylor; Eugene Davidson, branch president; Geraldine Tate; Mrs. Ella Bannister, the club president; Marguerite Hall, and Mrs. Martha Winston.*

FOR FASTER SERVICE:

USE ZONE NUMBERS—THEY'RE PART OF YOUR ADDRESS—

INCLUDE THEM IN YOUR *RETURN* ADDRESS!

Rev. Melvin C. Swann, minister, St. Joseph AME church, Durham, N. C., presents a $100 check as initial payment on his church's NAACP life membership to Rev. William H. Fuller (R), president Durham branch. Rev. Frank Gordon (far R), chairman of the southeast region church committee, is looking on.

Ministers and lay leaders mirror the intense interest manifested at the opening session of the southeast NAACP regional ministers conference held in Greensboro, N. C. on March 6. Dr. E. R. Edmonds of Bennett College was keynote speaker at the opening session

Mrs. Dorothy DeLisser accepts a check from Paul Wingate, president of The Old Salts Association, Inc., as an initial payment on an NAACP life membership. Others pictured (from L) are Carlos Jeffers, secretary; Fritz Alexander, treasurer; and George Welch, vice-president.

J. Edward Bailey III

DR. J. J. McCLENDON *(center), a member of the national NAACP life membership committee, receives final payment on an NAACP life membership from Dr. and Mrs. Clarence W. Preston of Detroit, Michigan. The Prestons are the first couple in the Detroit branch to have paid in full their life memberships.*

DON'T FORGET

THE 49th ANNUAL

CONVENTION OF THE NAACP

CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 7-13, 1958

Branches Should Start Their Preparations Now

Larry Cassyd, 12½-year-old son of Caspar Cassyd (R) of Palmer Mills, Conn., makes an initial payment of $25 on his junior NAACP life membership to Rosalie Rolle, secretary of Middleton - Portland, Conn., branch. Rev. Lorenzo Woods, co-chairman of the branch life membership committee is at left.

The Petites and Gents, a teen-age Baltimore, Md., club which has dedicated itself to better citizenship in Baltimore. This club has 100 percent individual NAACP membership. Club sponsor Mrs. Eula M. Watts is second from left in front row.

South Jersey "Woman of the Year," Mrs. Alice Terres, receives congratulations from Floyd D. McLean (R), a member of the executive board of the Gloucester county branch. Rev. Robert Scott, pastor of The Memorial Presbyterian church at Wenonah, New Jersey, is at left.

do you believe the worst is over, in the struggle for human rights?

YOU'RE

Help was never more urgently needed

Send to your local branch or the

N.A.A.C.P.

20 West 40th Street

New York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check for $_____ as first payment toward a Life Membership.

☐ I enclose check for $500 for full Life Membership.

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN JACKIE ROBINSON

DR. BENJAMIN MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander	Dr. John L. Leach
George A. Beavers, Jr.	Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Bishop W. Y. Bell	Dr. James E. Levy
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Dr. W. Montague Cobb	Dr. James J. McClendon
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Earl B. Dickerson, Esq.	A. Philip Randolph
S. Ralph Harlow	Walter Reuther
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Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin	Dr. Alfred E. Thomas, Jr.
Mrs. Pauline F. Weeden	

WRONG!

tl eded . . . Join NAACP today as a life member

Despite favorable court decisions and increased public support, freedom for *all* Americans remains an objective to be accomplished. And deep within ourselves we know, too, that we can make a bigger contribution, a greater sacrifice, perhaps, than we already have—no matter how difficult or substantial these may have been. The walls of hate have been breached, but they are still standing. Help tear down the barriers of racial intolerance. Enroll today as a Life Member of the NAACP.

Looking and Listening . . .

CORRECTION

The February, 1958, issue of *The Crisis* carried this item, at page 195: "The American Public Health Association has elected Dr. J. H. Barnhill of Raleigh, North Carolina, to membership, making him the first Negro to be so recognized." This statement is *untrue and misleading*. Several *Crisis* readers, as well as Dr. Berwyn Mattison, executive secretary of The American Public Health Association, Inc., have pointed out the untruthfulness in the statement. Dr. Mattison, in a letter to the editor, adds: "This professional society has elected many Negroes to membership over the years. It is a matter of pride to us that it is impossible to tell how many members in our total constituency are Negroes. The American Public Health Association has never questioned race, creed or color. Its criteria have to do only with personal and professional integrity."

The Crisis regrets this error and wishes no disservice to the APHA.

NMA JOURNAL CELEBRATES

THE Journal of the National Medical Association, now in its 50th year, is the oldest existing Negro medical periodical and contains more than 50 per cent of what Negroes have written on medical subjects, exclusive of a few books. With an international circulation it enjoys exchange relationships with some 50 medical periodicals in various parts of the world. Although it has been the chief medium of expression for Negro authors on medical subjects, its pages have never been restricted on a racial basis, and it has had many contributions from non-Negro authors, who have included some of the most distinguished names in modern medicine.

The cover page of the second issue (March 1958) of the 50th volume carries a portrait of the late Dr. Walter G. Alexander who served for a number of years as general secretary of the National Medical Association (1912-1924) and as chairman of its Publication Committee (1941-42). A past president of the NMA (1926), he practiced medicine in Orange, New Jersey, for 48 years. Active in civic and political affairs he served for two terms in the New Jersey State Legislature and as a delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention. At the time of his death in 1953 he was revered as the senior elder statesman of the National Medical Association and had long been regarded as the backbone of the organization.

NEW GOLDEN PLAN

WITTY, sardonic Harry L. Golden, editor-publisher of *The Carolina Israelite* (Charlotte, North

Carolina) has thought up another plan to help speed integration. He calls it "The Golden Carry-The-Books Plan." This is the way he outlines it in the January-February, 1958, *Israelite:*

This may help toward the final solution of the 'integration' problem of the South, implementing the several Supreme Court decisions to end racial segregation in the public schools.

There is no vertical segregation. But neither is there '45-degree-angle' segregation if the 'sitting' or 'leaning' Negro is a servant, a domestic, or a chore-boy of some kind.

Therefore the Negro parents of the South should make this proposition to their local school boards; that they will allow their children to carry the books for their 'white' class mates. A system can easily be worked out whereby the Negro boy, (going to an integrated school), can meet a 'white' classmate at a convenient corner, a block or so away from the school, and carry the 'white' boy's books into the school building. And if there are sixteen Negro students in a school of four hundred 'whites,' an alternating system can be worked out so that by the end of the semester, each 'white' boy will have his books carried into the school building by a Negro student, at least once.

The Negro girls would not have to participate in this 'Golden Carry-the-Books-Plan.' The girls should wear a sort of miniature apron over their street dresses, and this would settle everything once and for all. Everybody would be satisfied. Eventually, I suspect, the 'white' girls may even adopt those cute little aprons themselves, but they will have served their purpose.

I know I am calling on the Negroes to make a considerable sacrifice, but it is worth it because this would settle the matter even for the most outspoken 'white supremacists.' If it became known throughout the South that the Negro boys were toting books for the 'whites,' and that Negro girls were wearing aprons to school, all the school kids could go on with their work without any further disturbance from segregationist mobs, National Guardsmen, or federal troops.

* * * * * *

MR. GOLDEN makes this comment on "The Courtship of Atlanta's Standish":

What a wonderful name this man has—Standish Thompson, and here's the story:

Brother Standish is the Tax Commissioner of Atlanta, Ga., and he is a man with a problem. This year Brother Standish sent out the tax forms in only one color—the cards were all printed on white paper and hundreds of people saw in this gesture a move toward the complete mongrelization of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Brother Standish made a public statement (Atlanta Journal, Feb. 27): 'These white cards will not affect segregation according to the way the law stands.' The Tax Commissioner wanted it clearly understood that this tax-form printed on white cards for all the citizens is 'not a step toward integration.'

Previously the tax bills for white citizens were on white paper, and those for Negro taxpayers were on yellow paper. The beleaguered Brother Standish summed it all up; 'The new procedure for returning of taxes of whites and Negroes will continue to be maintained.'

Brother Standish is merely following the principle laid down by our Neanderthal ancestors who refused to bury albino horses in the same mass graves with their own chestnut browns. But I do not envy Brother Standish's position during the next few months. Even John Alden couldn't help him.

VIRGIL D. HAWKINS, *director of public relations at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, who has fought to break down segregation at the University of Florida by entering the law school of the university, is presented a citation by the NAACP college chapter at Bethune-Cookman.*

"CAPITAL INCIDENT"

NOTHING shows up the Anglo-Saxon's propensity to associate crime with Negroes like the insinuation of the *U. S. News & World Report* that the muggers of Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Courier-Journal & Louisville Times,* and his wife, in Washington, D. C., last February were Negroes. In a letter published in the *Washington Post* (February 23, 1958), Mr. Ethridge explains that the muggers were not Negroes:

My wife's piece in *This Week* Magazine about our being 'mugged' in Washington and the round-up on crime—'Fear in the Street of the Nation's Capital' in the *U. S. News and World Report* for Feb. 14—have produced a spate of letters addressed to us. Some of them are indignant over crime in the Capital, some are sympathetic, and some, from my less ardent admirers in the South, think that only poetic justice was done when a Negro hit me in the head.

That is what disturbs me about both pieces, it never occurred to my wife to say that they were white boys, and the piece in the *U. S. News and World Report* leaves the implication that they were indeed Negroes. They were not. There were five of the young thugs, three stayed in the get-away car and two 'mugged' and 'yoked' us, whatever the expression is.

All of them were white; three from Asheville, N. C., one from South Carolina and one from Maryland, just over the District line. All of them had good old English names common to the South; all were products of good old segregated southern white schools.

I'm sorry to discomfit those who seemed pleased to have me hit in the head, but I did want to set the record straight. Besides, I would never admit that a Negro could hit any harder than a white boy.

FARM WORKERS IN '57

FAY BENNETT, executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund Inc., New York City, asserts, in the Fund's annual report, that the government's farm program is inconsistent and works against itself. "The program of subsidizing bigness," she says, "throws more and more small farmers off their land into city slums or into the migrant stream."

The report has this to say about the migrant worker:

Here is a sample of the life of one of the half million or more migrant farm workers in this country:

Men, women and children loaded onto trucks in early evening. First stop made at 11 P.M. for a meal. Told by diner's proprietor to move on. Next stop at 1 A.M. for gas. Migrants not allowed to use toilets. An hour later stop made in a woods for 'bathroom' purposes. Continued riding all night. Stopped at 6 A.M. for purchase of cold cuts, bread and soda pop at country store. At noon stopped for drinking water at a spring. State troopers followed trucks rest of day and no stops permitted. At 8 P.M. stop made at a country store to purchase more cold cuts, bread and soda pop. State troopers prevented migrants from leaving truck. Stopped at 3 A.M. for 1½ hours for sleep. At 11 A.M. of second day, migrants arrived at the camp where they hoped to work. (Adapted from a Florida State Board of Health report.)

What does the migrant find at 'camp?' Sun-up to sun-down picking if the weather is good. Days of being cooped up in crowded shacks if rain sets in.

In most cases, housing for migrants is wretched. Even in Northern states it

sometimes consists of abandoned barns, chicken coops and delapidated shacks. Men, women and children are often herded into one room. Medical attention for migrants is sporadic at best. Cases of infant diarrhea as well as disabling illness of adults have many times gone untreated. Schooling in the past usually has consisted of a few years in elementary school, and this in inferior segregated southern schools which until recently only held 'short sessions' so children could work in the fields. Education now must be of prime concern if we are to seek a better life for the children than their parents have.

* * * * * *

The report has this to say about Deep South Developments:

Sharecropping, segregation, one-party politics—this is the triumvirate which has controlled life in the South since the Civil War, keeping it nearly static. All three are slowly but surely on the way out. Industrialization is quickening the pace of the South's revolution. It is bringing opportunity to many who are no longer needed on the land. But the uneducated Negro sharecropper or tenant farmer is not yet welcome to the developing industry of the South. Where does he go? If he has a relative in a northern city, he may go there (if he can afford the fare) and join the already over-packed city slums. Or he joins the steadily increasing migrant stream.

NSF has long maintained that civil and political rights for the southern Negro go hand in hand with his struggle for economic advancement. In the states where Negroes (and poor whites) have the least education and the lowest standards of living, there is also the lowest percentage of voters. The figures on voter-turnout in the 1956 presidential election show Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi at the very bottom of the 48 states.

By far the largest number of farm families with cash incomes of *less* than $1,000 are in the South. These southern states need government help most in services to farmers such as adequate credit and employment, vocational, health and educational programs. . . .

Economic pressures against the independent Negro farmer, sharecropper and tenant farmer continued to come to the attention of NSF. The Fund continued its interest in finding help for some and granted several loans from its own funds.

4-H'er IN BRAZIL

DORIS A. SMITH, a Virginia colored 4-H'er who is spending six months in Brazil as an International Farm Youth Exchange delegate, has won the hearts of the people of the State of Minas Gerais with a broadcast in Portuguese.

The Virginia State College graduate, who has been studying Portuguese since last fall when she was selected to go to Brazil, impressed the radio announcer with her ability to speak the language. He had planned to do the interview through an interpreter, but changed his plans after talking with Miss Smith.

Following the interview, which was conducted entirely in Portuguese, the announcer asked the 4-H'er to sing a song. This she also did in Portuguese. The studio people and the family with whom she was staying at the time were highly pleased with the broadcast, and neighbors and listeners from miles around came or called to congratulate her.

The next day was Miss Smith's 21st birthday and her IFYE family gave her a party. There was a birth-

day cake with candles; and there were candy and fruit and nuts.

Miss Smith has been in Brazil since October. During this time she has lived with eight families: Brazilian, English, German, American, and Japanese.

MONTGOMERY WARD

THE *Newsletter* (March, 1958) of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination reports that The Montgomery Ward branch in Menanda, a suburb near Albany, will hire a Negro salesman for the first time in the history of the store as a result of a conciliation agreement between SCAD and the Company. Commissioner J. Edward Conway, in a finding of "probable cause" upheld the complaint of Jeremiah Blanton that he had been rejected for the position because of his race. The agreement to offer Mr. Blanton a sales position was reached after it was established, among other findings, that the complainant's qualifications for the position were superior to those of a number of white persons who applied at the same time and were hired.

An unusual term of the conciliation was the company's agreement to review the employment record, qualifications and abilities of all Negroes presently employed as counter girls, dish washers, porters, janitors and receiving clerks, to determine whether or not such personnel should be promoted if they are interested and qualified and if "customer-contact" positions are available.

Commissioner Conway pointed out that the lack of Negroes in such positions created the impression that they were excluded by the company, and tended to discourage qualified Negroes from applying for jobs at their highest level of skills.

Montgomery Ward will also (1) inform all its employment interviewers of the non-discrimination policy of the firm (2) communicate with interracial organizations and with high school guidance counsellors informing them of the company's non-discriminatory policy in the recruitment and promotion of all employees (3) take affirmative steps

Roy Wilkins (L), executive secretary NAACP, welcomes Aviad Yafeh, director of the Israel Office of Information in New York City, in NAACP office in New York. Looking on are Rabbi Arthur Silbert (2nd from R), of the Anti-Defamation League, and Rev. Edward J. Odom, Jr., NAACP church secretary.

to advise the general public of its policy of hiring and promoting without regard to race, religion or nationality.

NEGRO INVESTMENT EXPERT

McDONALD, Holman & Co., Inc., Wall Street underwriting firm, has announced the appointment of John T. Patterson, Jr., as assistant manager of corporate finance. Mr. Patterson is believed to be the first Negro to be named to an executive position with such a firm in the financial district. Mr. Patterson will act as special assistant to executive vice-president Richard A. Holman.

Mr. Patterson, who began setting financial precedents three years ago when he helped organize and became vice-president and sales manager of Special Markets, Inc., first Negro-owned and operated brokerage house in the Wall Street area.

The next year he became head of the New York office of the Financial Industry Fund, of Denver, making him not only one of the youngest men but also the first Negro in financial history to hold such a job. Mr. Patterson founded Patterson & Co., an investment securities house, of 250 West 57th St., New York, last September.

A resident of (24-26 Humphrey St.) East Elmhurst, Queens, Mr. Paterson was graduated from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, in 1950. He then began to study law at night at Brooklyn Law School, while selling mutual funds, as a First Investors Corporation salesman, during the day. He got his law degree in 1954.

Mr. Patterson sold more than $1,500,000 of mutual fund securities in his first five years in the investment field. In the fall of 1954 First Investors awarded him its Highest Volume Cup Award, for $127,000 worth of business written in 10 weeks. The next June the same company presented him with its Distinguished Salesman Award. A year ago he won FIF's Diamond Award for $75,000 written in the month of February.

SEEKS POLITICAL POST

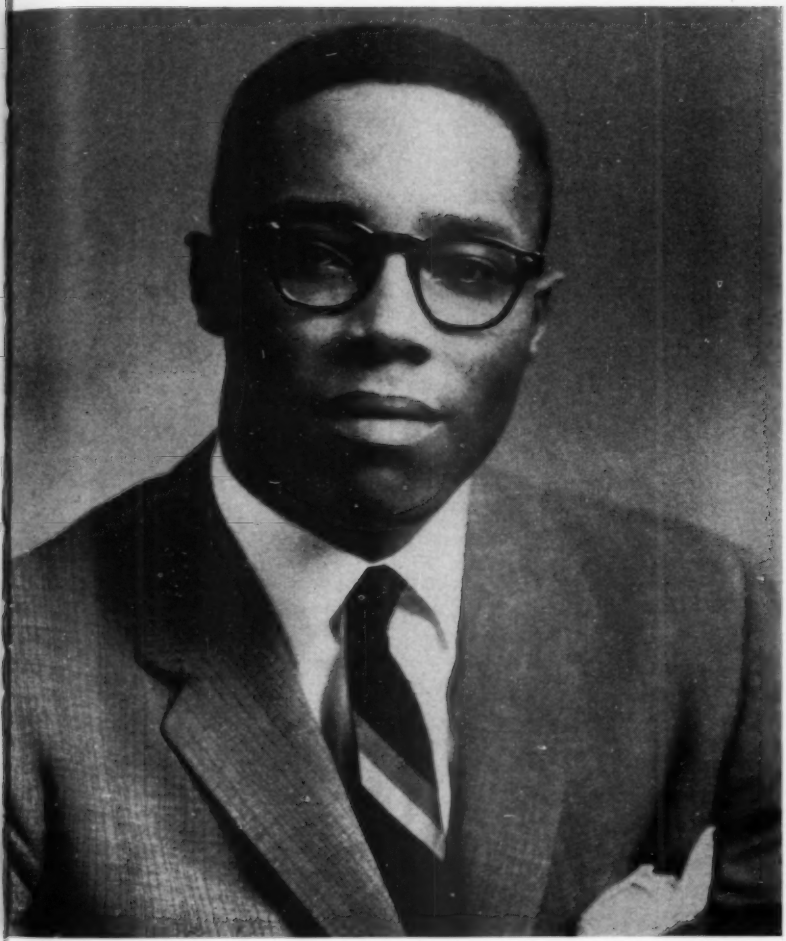
FOUR candidates entered the May 13 Democratic primary race in Hobbs, New Mexico, for the office of state representative, the number one position in Lea county. One of the men is a Negro Methodist minister from Hobbs, believed to be the first Negro ever to file for a major political post in New Mexico. He is Robert C. D. Tieuel, Jr.

Mr. Tieuel, who has served as a precinct chairman as well as a member of the Lea county grand jury, said he was basing his candidacy on qualification alone.

VIRGINIA E. RANDOLPH

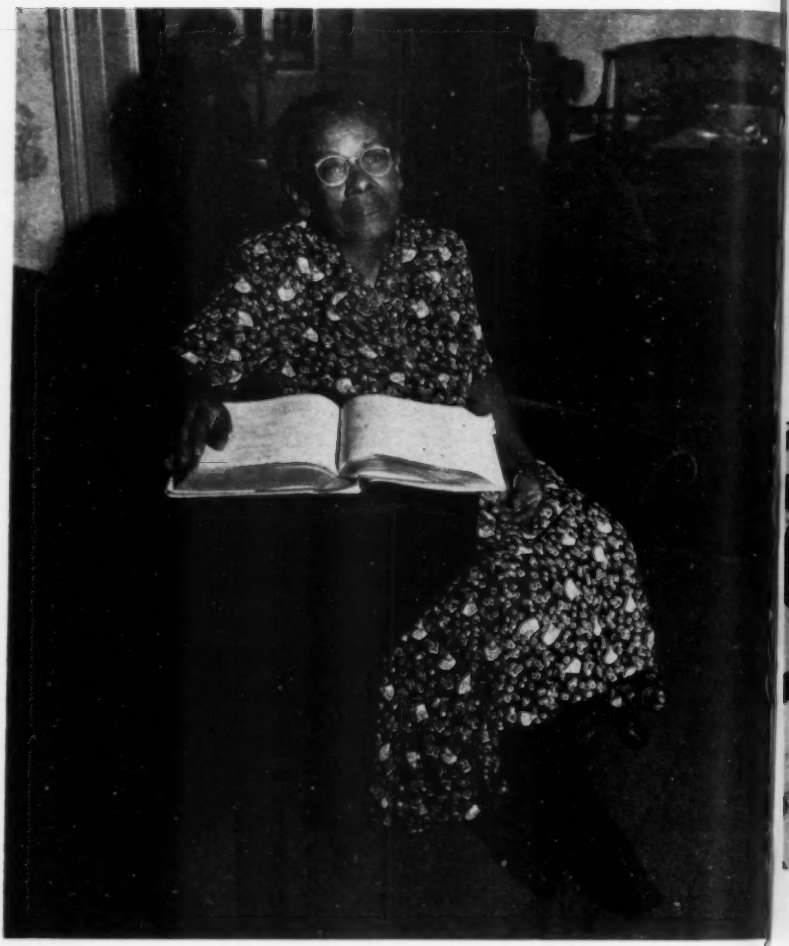
THE career of Miss Virginia E. Randolph, which death so abruptly closed on March 16, 1958, won the respect of all Virginians. Her contributions to education brought her international recognition. She began teaching about 1890, when she was only eighteen, at the one-room Mountain Road school near Glen Allen. She had retired in 1948 as supervisor of Negro education in Henrico county.

Miss Randolph was born in Rich-



Robert D. Eckhouse

JOHN T. PATTERSON, JR., *assistant manager of corporate finance with the firm of McDonald, Holman & Co., underwriting firm in Wall Street, New York City.*



Jervy Jones

VIRGINIA E. RANDOLPH
(June 6, 1870 — March 16, 1958)

mond, Virginia, and was educated at Bacon School and the City Normal School, both of Richmond. She always believed that pupils should learn to use their hands as well as their minds. In 1908 she was appointed as the first supervisor for the Jeanes Fund, and she worked as a supervisor in the states of Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina.

Deeply interested in the problems of juveniles, Miss Randolph worked with the Richmond Juvenile Court and even took needy children into her home. At one time she had seventeen of them living with her.

The Virginia Randolph School at Glen Allen was named for her, and former Governor Peery appointed her to the board of directors for Virginia's industrial school for Negroes.

Miss Randolph is survived by an adopted daughter, Mrs. Carrie Brown Sample, and a niece, Mrs. Aretha R. Davis.

J. W. Stanberry, Jr.

THIS CHORUS *of the Laurel, Mississippi, youth council has been featured at many meetings and gatherings both within and without the state. Lawrence Hobson (seated front L) is the chorus director.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

ASSOCIATION NEWS

PRESIDENT Arthur B. Spingarn says it "is ridiculous on the face of it" to charge that the NAACP is operating underground in Alabama.

Mr. Spingarn's statement was in reference to a court order issued on April 9 by Circuit Court Judge Walter B. Jones of Montgomery, Alabama, requiring William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee and W. C. Patton of Birmingham to show cause why they should not be held in contempt for violating an injunction against the NAACP on the ground that the organization in which they have been working is a front for the NAACP.

The Association suspended activity in Alabama in June, 1956, after an injunction was issued against it and a fine of $100,000 was imposed for refusal to turn over the names and addresses of NAACP members in the state. The Association withheld the names out of fear of exposing its members to official and unofficial intimidation, pressures and persecution.

Appealing from the decision of the Alabama court, NAACP lawyers took the case to the United States Supreme Court, which last January heard argument on it. No decision has been handed down as yet.

The NAACP president branded the latest Alabama move as "another futile and malicious maneuver" intended "to stop the Negro's struggle for civil rights. This struggle," he asserted, "will go on, with or without the NAACP, because the southern Negro is no longer willing to put up with second-class citizenship."

Here is the complete text of Mr. Spingarn's statement:

"The NAACP has not operated in the State of Alabama since June, 1956, when an injunction was issued and a fine of $100,000 levied against our organization. The Association has not, since that date, employed or designated William P. Mitchell or W. C. Patton or anyone else to represent it in that state. NAACP lawyers, however, have filed suit to set aside the injunction and lift the fine. The case was argued before the United States Supreme Court in January and a decision is awaited. Meanwhile, the Alabama court order has been scrupulously obeyed.

"The charge that the NAACP has been operating in Alabama underground is ridiculous on the face of it. It is just another futile and malicious maneuver on the part of the State of Alabama to stop the Negro's struggle for civil rights. This struggle will go on, with or without the NAACP, because the southern Negro is no longer willing to put up with second-class citizenship."

DEATH OF MRS. ARTHUR SPINGARN

FUNERAL services for Mrs. Arthur B. Spingarn, the wife of the president of the NAACP, were held in New York City on March 24.

Mrs Spingarn died in New York City on March 22 after a long illness. She and Mr. Spingarn lived in Manhattan.

The private services, attended by family members and a few close friends, were held at a funeral chapel. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, read the 23rd Psalm and Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar."

Other officials and staff members of the Association present at the services were Mrs. Grace Fenderson of Newark, a vice-president; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary; and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel. Judge William H. Hastie of Philadelphia, a member of the board of directors of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., also were present.

Mr. and Mrs. Spingarn actively supported the NAACP in the early days of the Association before World War I. Until about the World War II period Mrs. Spingarn customarily attended NAACP annual conventions as well as other functions of the civil rights organization, and was Mr. Spingarn's constant companion as he devoted a large amount of his time to NAACP work.

BOARD MOURNS HANDY PASSING

DR. CHANING H. TOBIAS, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, sent the following telegram of condolence on March 28 to Mrs. W. C. Handy, widow of the famous composer:

FOR MYSELF AND WIFE AND FOR NAACP BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EXTEND HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES ON PASSING OF OUR GOOD FRIEND W. C. HANDY. HE WAS AN ABLE MAN, CREATIVE GENIUS AND WARM PERSONALITY. HIS CONTRIBUTION TO ART IN AMERICAN LIFE WILL STAND AS LONG AS ART ENDURES. IT WAS A PLEASURE TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH HIM IN HIS ENDEAVORS. PLEASE EXTEND TO MEMBERS OF FAMILY AND ACCEPT FOR YOURSELF OUR GREAT APPRECIATION FOR ALL THAT WAS DONE FOR HIM.

SCHOOL FUNDS

CLARENCE MITCHELL, director of the NAACP Washington bureau, told the House subcommittee on special education on April 2 that the officials of eight southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia—could not be trusted

to administer any type of federal assistance to education without anti-segregation safeguards.

He cited a letter from Roy Wilkins to Marion B. Folsom, secretary of health, education and welfare, in which Mr. Wilkins warned that "any government plan for assistance to the states in the form of grants for scholarships, teacher training, and other methods of reducing the waste of talent should not subsidize a system which has stifled talent among the children and youth of 4,000,000 American families, except for a handful of hardy, persistent and fortunately placed individuals."

"We ask that no state be given any funds unless its appropriate officials pledge that they will be spent in conformity with the requirements of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, in the school desegregation cases," he asserted.

Mr. Mitchell cautioned subcommittee members that "at some point, the Congress must decide to call a halt to the wanton program of using federal money to promote illegal school programs of racial segregation."

"Now is the time to act," he added, pointing out that "Congress cannot ignore the extensive pattern of tax-supported defiance in some areas of the country."

The NAACP's legislative specialist noted that a Chicago newspaper last month estimated that southern states have spent more than two million dollars in attempts to defy the Supreme Court decisions banning segregated public schools.

He noted also that in Mississippi the state legislature has had under consideration "a proposal to let a private organization, the White Citizens Council, fight desegregation with tax money."

NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLYWOMAN

MRS. MADALINE WILLIAMS, whose husband, Samuel Williams, is a member of the NAACP national board, was honored at a testimonial dinner in East Orange, New Jersey, on March 27. Mrs. Williams is the first Negro woman to be elected to the New Jersey State Legislature.

Principal speaker at the dinner which was held at the Surburban Hotel was Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, who paid tribute to Mrs. Williams' devotion to public service.

Among the 500 persons attending the dinner were representatives of various organization in which Mrs. Williams has been active as well as fellow members of the Assembly, freeholders and other leading citizens of both races. A telegram of felicitation was received from Governor Robert Meyner.

Mrs. Williams was presented with two plaques. Dr. Everett B. Simmons, president of the Oranges-Maplewood NAACP branch, made the presentation on behalf of the branch. The second plaque was presented by Samuel Haynes, editor of the New Jersey *Afro-American*, on behalf of his newspaper.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Eighth annual meeting of members of the SACRAMENTO branch's credit union was held in March, with reports from committees and the board.

Printed reports of the several committees and the board and manager were prepared and distributed to the membership. They revealed an increase of more than $45,000,000 in total assets of the credit union during 1957. Present assets are now $164,548.32. The report further showed $127,000 had been loaned to members during the year, an average of more than $10,000 a month. Manager, Mrs. Virna Canson, reported that members taken into the Sacramento branch through the credit union exceeded 365, or an average of better than one member per working day.

President Alex B. Moore reported purchase of new equipment and significant changes in policy made by the board of directors during 1957.

Report of the credit committee showed loans had been made for such diverse purposes as refinancing of old bills, purchase of automobiles, down payments on homes, home improvement, medical expenses, school expenses, taxes, insurance and NAACP life memberships. Attorney Nathaniel S. Colley is chairman.

Connecticut: The CONNECTICUT VALLEY branch—which comprises the cities of Bristol, Forestville, and Plainville—won first prize in the Central Connecticut Food Exposition held at the Plainville High School on February 28 and March 1. The branch entered a booth and a contestant in the Cooking Contest.

Mrs. Hildegarde Stellmacher, branch program chairman, won first prize, a Roto-Broiler, for her casserole.

The HARTFORD branch presented five certificates of merit to the *Hartford Times,* the *Hartford Courant,* Judge Boce Barlow, Mrs. Minnie Jackson, and Mrs. Antoinette Washington "for service in improving intergroup relations." The certificates were presented by branch president Arthur L. Johnson at the sixth annual symposium on the church's role in race relations. The meeting was held at the Immanuel Congregational church, with Rev. J. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches as the main speaker.

The Hartford branch reports the following highlights among its 1957 activities. A survey of health conditions in the local community, preparation of an anti-discrimination clause for the city council, and help in the preparation of bills for rent control.

FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS *(R), west coast regional secretary counsel of the NAACP, accepts a $1,500 check for the NAACP freedom fund from Mrs. Majorie Brown, president of the New London, Connecticut, branch of the NAACP in the presence of Douglas Bennett, who served as chairman of the branch's special fund-raising committee.*

Appreciation awards were given to Dr. Allen F. Jackson, Frank Simpson, Atty. George Ritter, Councilman John Clark, Mayor James Kinsella, Mrs. Sadie Mills, Representative Gertrude Koskoff, and Mrs. Charlotte Kitowski. Certificates were also awarded to branch members who had brought in twenty-five or more memberships.

And the branch education committee presented four brotherhood awards to essay winners at the North East Junior High School: a book to each winner from the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades, and a five dollar cash prize to the overall winner, a student from the 9th grade.

Nearly 100 members and friends attended the recently monthly meeting of the MIDDLETOWN-PORTLAND branch held in the VFW Hall of Middletown.

Five delegates were elected to represent the local branch at the New England regional conference held in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, April 26-27. Edward Jackson, John Freeland, Charles Ghent, James Polk, and Jerome Byrd comprised the delegation.

Among the highlights of the meeting were a report by Carl Whitman, co-chairman of the special fund-raising committee, initial payment on an NAACP junior life membership by Larry Cassyd, and initial payments on life memberships by John Freeland, treasurer, and Woodrow Rainey, vice-president, for the Socialite Social Club; and an initial life-membership payment by Detroit Hunter for the King David Lodge, No. 54, AF&AM, of Middletown.

Illinois: "Integration Through Districting" was the subject of a panel discussion at the March 28 meeting of the CHICAGO branch.

Iowa: NAACP vice-president Ike Smalls of DES MOINES was recipient, in March, of the "Annual Americanism Award for 1956-1957" from the Des Moines Post 637 and Auxiliary Jewish War Veterans of the U. S. "for outstanding service to the United States, State of Iowa, and City of Des Moines." Sidney C. Levine, commander department Nebraska-Iowa, Jewish War Veterans of U. S., was the main speaker; the medal and certificate were presented to Mr. Smalls by Louis M. Williams, director of the Jewish Community Center.

Representatives from eleven Iowa branches attended a one-day NAACP conference at the Willkie House in Des Moines on March 2. NAACP branch director Gloster Current, and A. P. Trotter, state president, con-

THE *Covington, Virginia, branch exceeded its membership quota with the help of these able membership workers, under the direction of Rev. M. L. Robinson (R), chairman of the branch membership committee.*

ducted the luncheon meeting.

This meeting is one of a series of campaign-planning conferences being conducted in key areas throughout the country by Mr. Current.

Michigan: President Prince Drewry of the MACOMB COUNTY branch has been elected to the executive board of the recently organized Macomb County Interracial Association. The local branch and the MCIA are working together to eradicate local discrimination. Mr. Drewry, who is rounding out his thirteenth year as branch president, served for six years (1930-1936) as the sole Negro member of the Clinton Township board of education. Mr. Drewry is a former vice-president of the Michigan state conference of NAACP branches and an NAACP life member.

Robert J. Greene, field representative of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission, was speaker at the March 16 meeting of the GRAND RAPIDS branch.

Minnesota: The ST. PAUL branch has commended the American Veterans' Committee for giving its Americanism award to the nine Negro students of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Mississippi: The youth council and chorus of the LAUREL branch attended the sixth annual regional conference of the NAACP held in Greensboro, North Carolina, March 7-9.

Nevada: The housing committee of the RENO-SPARKS branch sponsored a mass meeting on low-rental housing on March 20. Featured speakers were Jay Baker, Reno public housing director; Graham Erskine, director of the Urban Redevelopment Agency; and Mayor Len Harris of Reno.

New Jersey: The MONTCLAIR branch sponsored a brotherhood meeting on February 23 in the St. Mark Methodist church of Montclair. Speakers were Dr. Derwood Baker, director of the Center for School Services at New York University; Dr. Kelmo Porter, Jr., president of the Clergy Club of Montclair; Sydney Kellner, area director of the American Jewish Committee; and Oscar Cohen, director of the program division of the Anti-Defamation League.

New York: Alex Ellis, a senior at Niagara University, addressed the March meeting of the NIAGARA branch on "The Road to Success."

The COLUMBIA COUNTY branch has succeeded in getting the Hudson board of education to refuse use of a school building for the production of a black-face minstrel by the local American Legion Post.

It all began when American Legion Post #184 ignored a letter branch president Mrs. Muriel Jenkins had sent to the Legion calling attention to the fact that the black-face minstrel is offensive to Negroes, since it tags a whole race as buffoons and clowns, and tends to perpetuate racial stereotypes. The branch petitioned the school board to prohibit the Legion from using the

Hudson high school auditorium to put on a show which would be in bad taste as well as offensive to the public.

Pennsylvania: Sixty-two NAACP delegates were in attendance at the NAACP clinic sponsored by the ERIE branch on March 15 in the Erie YMCA. Madison S. Jones, NAACP special assistant in housing, was the principal speaker. Morning workshops of the clinic discussed responsibility in molding opinions and environments, and are public accommodations public? Speakers were Rev. Lawrence Bennett, youth director of the Erie council of churches; Rev. Jesse McFarland, minister of the Shiloh Baptist church; for the second workshop: Rev. Donovan White, minister First Unitarian church; Rev. Paul Martin, minister St. James AME church; and Attorney Gerald McNelis, chairman of the branch legal redress committee.

Speakers at the two afternoon workshops on employment-FEPC and housing and redevelopment were Attorney Edward G. Petrillo, Jr., Howard McKinney, Rev. Jefferson Myers, and Madison Jones.

Civic and social worker Wayne L. Hopkins is serving as membership campaign chairman of the 1958 drive of the PHILADELPHIA branch.

Mrs. Robert Bonner, chairman of the speakers' bureau of the Philadelphia branch, served as moderator of a panel—consisting of Matthew Adams, president Local #585 of the UAW; David Phillip, vice-president PTC; Lewis Carter, executive director Urban League; and Charles Shorter, NAACP executive secretary—which discussed "Economic Use of Manpower—A Community's Responsibility" before the student body of Saint Joseph's College on March 27.

The sociology department of Pennsylvania Military College has requested a regular lecture service from the Philadelphia branch for the race relations phase of its sociological courses.

Virginia: Howard M. Wilkinson of Richmond assumed full-time duties as assistant executive secretary of the Virginia State Conference of Branches on April 1. As assistant to W. Lester Banks, VSCB executive secretary, Mr. Wilkinson will serve as director of the VSCB's political action program. He succeeds John M. Brooks as director of the NAACP's Virginia suffrage program, now that Mr. Brooks has been appointed director of the NAACP's southwide voter-registration drive.

Washington: Rex Jones, field representative of the Washington State Board Against Discrimination, was guest speaker on March 23 at a mass meeting sponsored by the YAKIMA branch. His subject was "The Tyranny of Silence," an expose of the failure to acknowledge the Negro's contribution to America.

Mr. Jones was introduced by branch president Ted Spearman.

Wisconsin: "The Recreational Needs and Facilities for Teen-Agers and Young Adults in the Near-Northside Community" was topic of discussion at the March 9 meeting of the MILWAUKEE branch. Speakers were Mrs.

Thomas Cheeks, board of directors, YWCA; Donald Dyer, director, municipal recreation department; and Robert Starms, executive secretary, Northside YMCA. Stella Hartman of the community welfare council was consultant and Rev. R. B. Gutmann, executive director, Neighborhood House, was moderator.

The Housing Committee of the Board of Community Relations of the City of Jackson, in cooperation with the JACKSON branch, sponsored a housing conference on March 22 at the local YWCA. Dr. Hoover Rupert of the First Methodist church moderated a panel consisting of Madison Jones of the national office, who discussed housing for minority groups; Robert Hastings, housing for older people; Mrs. Bette Jenkins, housing for low-income families; and Rev. James Schmitt of St. Mary church who summarized the proceedings.

On Sunday, March 23, following the housing conference, the Jackson branch held a mass meeting on discrimination in housing, with Madison Jones, NAACP special assistant for housing, as the principal speaker.

MRS. RUTH WASHINGTON *(L), president of the P. M. Interlude Social and Charity Club, presents a $500 contribution to the NAACP freedom fund. Judge Carl R. Johnson, NAACP national board member and president of the Kansas City, Missouri, branch, accepts the gift on behalf of the Association in the presence of Mrs. James S. Livingston, a club member who promoted the special benefit which raised the money.*

Share for Social Action

THE NAACP CHURCH DEPARTMENT WANTS 1,000 CHURCHES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS TO BE LISTED ON ITS "SHARING FOR SOCIAL ACTION" SCROLL OF HONOR

SHARE in the material responsibilities by working to implement equality of opportunity for all people. Every church can share by contributing $50 or $100 (or more) to the NAACP Freedom Fund.

SHARE through a practical concern with others in your community for the improvement of race relations. Join your local NAACP and other interested community agencies in efforts to improve housing, voter registration, schools, health, and job opportunities for members of minority groups. The NAACP Church Department will be a liaison between your group and the "Churches for Freedom" program of your local NAACP branch.

SHARE with others information on problems, plans, and procedures in the area of Christian social action.

For further information, please write:

REV. EDWARD J. ODOM, Jr., NAACP Church Secretary
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York

College and School News

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DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

The Council on Cooperative College Projects and some members of the United Negro College Fund have organized a COOPERATIVE ARTISTS AND LYCEUM SERVICE, with headquarters at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee. Randolph Edmonds is the project director. Purpose of the organization is to work cooperatively to assist young artists and to give them more frequent opportunities for performing.

■

RESIDENTIAL SEMINARS ON WORLD AFFAIRS (Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania) sponsored a seminar on "Tropical Africa and US Foreign Policy" at Hampton Institute April 10-13. The seminar devoted attention to developments in

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the east-west belt of Africa south of the Sahara and north of the Union.

■

Dr. Howard E. Wilson, dean of the University of California at Los Angeles School of Education; and Samuel B. Sullivan, long-time Illinois school administrator, have been named staff consultants to THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

■

THE OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC., held two district meetings April 3-5: the seventh district meeting—comprising Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi—in Montgamery, Alabama; the ninth district —Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas — in Hot Springs, Arkansas.

SPELMAN COLLEGE has chosen Roslyn Pope and Marian Wright to receive foreign travel awards, to start in June, 1958. The grants include study and travel for one year

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■

John W. Parker, chairman of the English department at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, was speaker at the annual memorial-day worship service of Iota Iota chapter of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity. The ceremonies were held in the St. Paul AME church of Raleigh, North Carolina.

■

Affirmative and negative debating teams of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE tied for second place with Bowdoin, Holy Cross, University of Pennsylvania, and Wooster at the Brooklyn College Invitational Debate Tournament held in Brooklyn on March 7. Sixty-three institutions participated in the tournament, and Morehouse won a higher rating even than Amherst, Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, et. al. A. Russell Brooks, associate professor of English, is Morehouse debate coach.

■

Twenty MORGAN STATE COLLEGE freshmen who earned high averages during the first semester have been inducted into Promethean Kappa Tau, freshman honor society.

Dr. Broadus Sawyer, associate professor of business administration, has been awarded a fellowship by the Remington Rand Corporation to attend the Unicav Data Automation Program this summer in New York City.

Opportunities for employment are practically limitless, but colored youth must be qualified to compete, according to Roberta Church, minority groups consultant, US Department of Labor, in addressing the Morgan student body.

■

George A. Beavers, Jr., chairman of the board, Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company, Los Angeles, and Basil O'Connor, president, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, have agreed to serve as vice-chairmen of the current UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND campaign.

Official opening of the UNCF 1958 campaign was made by executive director William J. Trent, Jr., over the American Broadcasting Network on April 13.

■

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY observed its 91st founder's day on April 7, with Dr. Kenneth Irving Brown, executive director of the Danforth Foundation, St. Louis, Missouri, as principal speaker.

Annual fund drive of BENEDICT COLLEGE during 88th founder's day netted more than $25,000.

■

The Cancer Research Laboratories of MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE sponsored a series of two lectures, and three showings of microcinephotopraphy by Dr. Guy Voisin and Dr. Roger Robineaux, both associate directors of the Centre d'Immuno-Pathologie, Hospital Saint-Antoine, Paris, France, March 21 and 25.

Dr. Harry T. Penn, D.D.S., president of the National Dental Association, was annual Turpin Memorial Day speaker at Meharry.

■

TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE graduate Harold Clarke Fouche, Jr., is attending the University of Colorado Graduate School on a National Science Foundation scholarship.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY has begun construction of additional dormitory facilities for women students, which with construction and facilities will cost approximately $325,000.

Dillard was host in March to seventy-five principals from ten southern states at the university's annual principals' workshop.

Dr. Daniel Thompson, professor of sociology and chairman of the division of social sciences, has been selected as a member of the Oxford Institute of Methodist Technological Studies, sponsored by the World Methodist Council.

THESE *high school and college students are active NAACP workers in their demand for full citizenship. From L, they are Leroy Canady and Lucy Thornton, Hampton Institute; Armistead Williams, Norfolk, Virginia; and Barbara Lee, Williamsburg, Virginia.*

Book Reviews

ECONOMIC QUESTERS

Economics and Social Reform. **By Abram L. Harris. With a foreword by Frank H. Knight. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. XVI+357 pp. $5.00.**

I have known Abram Harris for at least thirty years and saw much of him when he was a young professor of the social sciences at Howard University. He had a brilliant mind and was an omnivorous reader. I doubt if any living scholar knows the work of Karl Marx as well as Harris. But the literary output of Harris has been small, and always, to my mind, far less than his scholarship warranted. As a Negro, naturally, he was interested in the Negro problem. He wrote, with Spero, *The Negro Worker* in 1931, an excellent study of the Negro and the labor movement. In 1936, Harris published a study of Negro banking which was a small part of a wider and more comprehensive scheme of studying Africa and the rise of capitalism and the development of an American Negro middle class. This plan was never carried out and it was left to Eric Williams and Franklin Frazier to broaden and extend. Meantime Harris became increasingly interested in Karl Marx, Communism, and the whole modern capitalist development. He read widely and published fifty or more articles and reviews, but no major work until 1958, when he published his current book.

To me this book is a great disappointment, partly because it is a conventional textbook of the sort which I do not think helps the education of youth. It is, to be sure, a learned treatise based on an astonishing amount of research. I possess no knowledge of this literature which would enable me to evaluate its accuracy or comprehensiveness. But I do know something of modern social problems and of the attempts of thinkers and workers to solve them. To this fundamental part of human history and thought, it seems to me that Harris adds nothing. He devotes a fourth of his book to John Stuart Mill, examining meticulously what this great nineteenth century philosopher said about reform, but devoting almost no space to just what it was that Mill proposed to reform. Harris then devotes fifty pages to Commons of the twentieth century, in an article which he wrote fifteen years ago. Of the greatest event of the twentieth century, the Russian Revolution and the resultant establishment of a Communist state, Harris says almost nothing. The word "Russia" or "Soviet Union" does not appear in his index.

To Karl Marx, Harris devotes thirty-seven pages, although this is the field

of his greatest competence, and his most intensive study. This study of Marx is to me most inadequate, and I cannot see what it will add to the average student's knowledge of the most pressing problems of our day. Harris' study of Veblen seems to me querulous and unappreciative; and his study of German socialism incomplete. The effect of this book on me is a feeling of its incompleteness and lack of logical conception. I cannot see why it was written and at what the author was aiming.

If I should presume to judge what Harris had in mind while writing this book, it would be this: frightened, with so many others, at the witch-hunt, he became weary and disappointed with his work at Howard University and welcomed security and status at the University of Chicago. He gave up the scientific study of Karl Marx and Communism and settled down to ten years of silence and teaching, with desultory essays. Then, bringing together parts of his twenty years of study, he made a book that followed no logical pattern but tried to portray Mill as a twentieth century prophet without showing how vastly the social problems had changed since his day. Harris then filled in with Commons and Veblen and ended with an extraordinary exposition of Mussolini's corporate state, emphasizing as its exponent a little known Catholic priest and certain papal encyclicals. This will sell his textbook in Catholic schools and prove his anti-Communism, but what will it do to let current Negro students as well as white understand about colonial imperialism, the rise of Asia and Africa, and the spread of socialism as answer to the plight of a writhing world of ignorant, starving, and diseased men? No matter what John Stuart Mill said or what Abram Harris dares not say, it was Karl Marx who dreamed the future, "and it works!"

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE THREE DUMAS

***The Titans: A Three-Generation Biography of the Dumas.* By André Maurois. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957. 508 pp. Illustrated. $5.95.**

This biography of three talented Frenchmen, who happened to be of Negro extraction, throws, incidentally, of course, a harsh light on the crippling effects of American race prejudice on Negro talent. All three lived at the center of French life, not on the margin; their friends and associates were the leading men and women of their day. They were extraordinary persons and their countrymen accepted them as such, and when they died France erected monuments to their memory in the Place Malesherbes in Paris.

Mr. Maurois brings these remarkable people to life. One is a dashing Napoleonic general, an extraordinary physical specimen, from Saint-Domingue; one is the greatest storyteller of all time, lovable and eminently outrageous; and one, more complex, is a dramatist obsessed with the social problems of illegitimacy and prostitution.

The three Dumas (the original is called *Les Trois Dumas*) are Thomas-Alexandre Dumas (1762-1806), the revolutionary general in the armies of Napoleon; his son Alexandre Dumas *père* (1802-1870), dramatist and novelist; and the latter's son Alexandre Dumas *fils* (1824-1895), creator of the French problem play. General Dumas was born at Jérémie, Saint-Domingue (now Haiti), the son of a French nobleman Davy de la Pailleterie, and a Negro mother, Marie-Cessette Dumas; Dumas *père,* at Villers-Cotterêts, a town about fifty miles from Paris; and Dumas *fils,* in his mother's lodgings in the Place des Italiens in Paris.

Despite the extraordinary physical feats and the iron-hearted bravery of General Dumas, the "Horatius Cocles of the Tyrol," Napoleon callously rele-

gated him to obscurity. His son Dumas *père* inherited his extraordinary energy and a talent sharpened by nature into genius. Nobody ever worked so hard or so continuously as Dumas *père*. His collected works run to 301 volumes, his mistresses to 120, and his children, he boasted, "to more than five hundred." He made a great deal of money, and his generosity was exceeded only by his prodigality. "He loved arranging and sharing the pleasures of others." When the architect Durand explained to him that his villa of Monte-Cristo could have no firm foundation because the subsoil was clay, Dumas told him to dig down to the rock. "That will cost several hundred thousand francs," explained M. Durand. "Indeed, I hope so!" said Dumas with a smile.

Dumas *fils's* bastardy, his father's liaisons and debts, and the "luxurious and entertaining existence which was the rule in the paternal home" left its mark. Count Horace Viel-Castel claims that the father saddled the son "with his new shoes and old mistresses." This dissipated young man, however, developed into a priggish moral reformer. He was obsessed with "the protection of decent women against rakes, and, consequently, the necessity of establishing paternity. . . ." "Dumas [*fils*] desired and adored what he said he execrated, and that was why so many women loved him. It is a strange and, when all is said, a moving spectacle, this, of a dramatist who had turned himself into a preacher to actresses, but had first to preach to himself, that he might not succumb."

The career of the three Dumas is a lively biography which often reads like a romance by the Elder Dumas. Mr. Maurois pictures three notable human beings just as they are, in both dress and undress, with all their virtues and vices.

One or two additional comments. On page 357 Mr. Maurois describes Ada Isaacs Menken as "a Jewess." Though she was converted to the Jewish faith, Philomene Croi Theodore (as she was christened) was actually a colored girl, as the facts dug up by John S. Kendall suggest. Dumas *père* was proud of being Negro and "did not in the least mind being reminded of his origins . . . and never took offense, provided the comments were made in a friendly tone. . . ." Once when he played with the idea of running for office in the Antilles, he remarked: "I will send them a lock of my hair to show that I am one of them." Dumas *fils*, on the basis of a letter to Baron Edmond de Rothschild, "was one of the earliest Zionists." Oddly enough, I find the usually scrupulous Mr. Hopkins translating "ghost writers" (*nègres*) as "niggers." "Faire travailler pour soi des 'nègres' ne fut jamais glorieux ni sympathique" is what Mr. Maurois writes (p. 181), and not "Making 'niggers' work. . . ." (p. 183).

J. W. I.

SEGREGATED EDUCATION

Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915. **By Louis R. Harlan. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. XII+290 pp. $6.00.**

Settling on the 1901-1915 time period because "these are the years when the Southern Educational Board [composed of rich, patronizing Northern industrialists and white supremacist Southern leaders] flourished," and because "by 1915 the pattern of racial discrimination in public schools was rather complete, *Separate and Unequal* has timeliness on its side since school desegragation, especially in the South, is continually in the forefront of American domestic — and occasionally foreign—news. And any well written and reliable source that contributes to our understanding of this problem is a vol-

ume of significance. Professor Harlan's work is a study showing that:

> Educational reform within the context of racism partook of racism, whatever may be the long-range effect of expanded education on white attitudes. Discrimination in education was a cancerous growth that fed on reform. The Southern Education Board's sympathetic and gentle approach to the race issue in Southern public education lacked the moral firmness of such a movement as Gandhi's Soul Force, and was therefore weakened by compromise.

The author, in a lucid style, and using reliable source materials, reveals how the rich "liberal" leaders of the North made a complete surrender to White Supremacy in the South and sold out the Negro as an American citizen, with the Reverend Charles H. Parkhurst, of the New York Madison Square Presbyterian Church, counseling the Negro to talk less about his "civic rights under the Constitution, particularly the right of suffrage." Employing "southern" sources of respected authenticity he demonstrates how the tacit bargain between these "pillars" of their respective communities "underlay the whole educational movement and dictated its tactical methods. The [Northern] philanthropists acquiesced in disfranchisement and jim-crow laws and undertook to promote acquiescence in the North," reminiscent of the unholy alliance prevailing today in the U.S. Congress between Southern Dixiecrats and conservative right-wing Northern Republicans. The analysis points up how this was accomplished in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia. It indicts Booker T. Washington for his role in this conspiracy to provide "a Negro education inferior in quantity and quality," and indicates how the best endowed colored schools of that era, "Hampton and Tuskegee, led many of their graduates up blind alleys of manual skill at a time when skills were being displaced by new machinery and techniques of mass production" upon the insistence of these black and white Uncle Toms of that day.

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HUGH H. SMYTHE

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(*Continued from page* 272)

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